DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 326 704 CE 056 540

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TITLE The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Technical and Vocational Education and Training Systems. Training Discussion Paper No. 64.
INSTITUTION International Labour Office, Geneva (Switzerland).
REPORT NO ISBN-92-2-107695-4
PUB DATE Sep 90
NOTE 21p.; Edited by the Training Policies Branch of the International Labour Office.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Developing Nations; *Economic Change; Economic Development; *Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; *Entrepreneurship; Financial Support; Foreign Countries; Job Training; *Small Businesses; *Vocational Education

ABSTRACT

The World Conference on Education for All may be the centerpiece of the international concern about structural adjustment and may put back onto the agenda concerns about the provision of good quality basic education. Although international support will not be suddenly withdrawn from traditional vocational training schemes as a result of the conference and its follow-up, a much greater proportion of the available international aid could go to support basic education and life skills or coping skills. In many countries, the local response to the recent crisis has been a vocationalization, or an intensification of interest in forms of vocational education and training. Since the formal sector of employment cannot continue to grow at a rate to absorb young people leaving school, countries are altering educational systems to prepare individuals for the informal sector. In some countries, new strategies for small enterprise development have been born out of the creative potential of the crisis of restructuring and adjustment. Internal labor force agendas are converging with external ones. New-style technical and vocational education and training is predicated upon the public acknowledgement of the potential of the informal and small enterprise economy. (20 endnotes) (YLB)

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Discussion Paper No. 64

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING SYSTEMS

by

Kenneth King

CE 056 540

edited by the Training Policies Branch of ILO Geneva

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> It follows, therefore, that no amount of technical, vocational or agricultural instruction alone is going to check the movement from the rural areas, reduce the volume of unemployment, or indeed necessarily have any effect on the rate of economic development....We would suggest that the crucial variables lie, instead, in the structure of incentives within the economic system and in the degree to which the institutional milieu is supportive of entrepreneurial activity...The provision of vocational education must be directly related to those points at which some development is already apparent and where demand for skills is beginning to manifest itself.[13]

It can be argued therefore that in some countries new strategies for small enterprise development have been borne out of the creative potential of the crisis of restructuring and adjustment. The recognition of the relationship between the small enterprise development agenda and the new agenda for vocational education and training is forging new alliances between government departments and between hitherto separate units in external agencies dealing with management and enterprise on the one hand and vocational training on the other. It has not been possible within the framework of this essay to examine how widespread this phenomenon has become at the country level, but the evidence from Kenya and Nigeria alone would point to the seriousness with which a small enterprise development policy is being developed.

It is also important to note, at least for Kenya, that the enterprise initiative does not start with educational actions but with the need to alter government's macro-economic policy and resource allocation (termed the enabling environment), and the need to alter the investment and financial mechanisms relating to small enterprise development. And finally to ensure that the non-financial promotion programmes for enterprise are in place. The latter would encompass schools and training organisations.

What is intriguing about the Kenya initiative, in terms of our present concern about the relationships between structural adjustment policies and the training regime is that, contrary to the prevailing view that structural adjustment policies are likely to have a malign effect on training, several of the measures that are proposed for the development of an enabling environment have some resonances with conventional elements in structural adjustment policies. Thus, from the strategy for small enterprise development in Kenya (1989), we can note the following recommendations:

> Liberalise the existing regulatory system by:
>
> allowing a managed liberalisation of the exchange rate against other major currencies;
>
> reducing overall protection of industries;
>
> increase interest rates;
>
> withdraw price controls etc etc.[14]

It is of course quite possible that such measures could reduce demand and employment in the modern sector of the economy, which could have knock-on effects on vocational training related to that sector. But it is anticipated that this would be more than compensated for by positive developments within the small enterprise sector. In a sense, structural adjustment-type policies are expected to help overcome the present problems facing small enterprise: deficient policy framework, inadequate infrastructure, limited markets, technological obstacles and cumbersome laws and regulations'.

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LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

September 1990

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ISBN 92-2-107695-4

First published 1990

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Printed by the International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland

Introduction

The purpose of this short essay is to think creatively about the impact of structural adjustment upon training. Because of the inadequacy of what little data does relate structural adjustment to training, the emphasis will be much more concerned with the kind of effect that might be anticipated than with seeking to identify that such and such effects are already visible. It will not in practice prove easy to separate the impact upon training from the impact upon education; nor the impact upon formal training from that upon informal training. Equally, it will prove very difficult to tease out the differential impact of external adjustment policies and the whole set of local adjustments which parents, teachers, instructors and pupils had already begun to make in the face of economic constraints, even before the official policies had started to be implemented. What then may need to be researched is the impact of one adjustment upon another.

At the same time governments have not been standing still in many of the countries that were most conspicuously being threatened or actually affected by external adjustment policies. In several cases, countries would seem to have administered their own adjustment medicine, in the hope that this would be a less bitter pill. Thus, they may not have waited to be obliged by an adjustment loan to take certain unpopular decisions in education or training. They have taken the initiative themselves. Detecting the source of the particular adjustment is accordingly very difficult. In some of the latest national commissions on education and training in Africa, for example, thinking that was once identified with a particular lobby in the World Bank might appear to have been rather widely adopted. Such countries (and they would include at least Kenya, Uganda and Zambia amongst the most recent) would certainly not see their national decisions about education and training policies to have been imposed. Yet in several respects the thrust of national policies has at least on paper become much closer to policies identified earlier as essential by the Bank.

Acknowledging a certain convergence between the external and internal policy agendas does not imply that this can be detected across the board. Indeed, it would seem that it is particularly in respect of technical and vocational education and training that rather significant differences remain between the external and the internal perspectives, and perhaps even between different external agendas.

With these cautions about the problems of sourcing the influences upon particular outcomes, we turn now to examine a number of tendencies and trends that may directly affect the area of technical and vocational education and training (TVET).

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I. The impact of 'Education for All' upon training.

One of the most significant developments at the international level to have taken place since the articulation of the concern about adjustment with a human face has been the beginnings of the mobilisation in favour of education for all. This interagency initiative is not unconnected with worries about the social effects of adjustment. At the very time when it looked as if there was evidence of a serious downturn in education spending, and of a retreat from schooling of the poorer sectors of society, there appeared a new focus on the need to universalise access to some form of basic education. Five months before the World Conference that will seek to put muscle into a charter or declaration in favour of basic education and literacy, it is difficult to be certain about possible shifts in educational resources towards these levels of education. But it is at least worth raising the question of whether successful international and national mobilisations towards these goals will involve tradeoffs between education and training.

It might be argued that the World Conference is not part and parcel of the structural adjustment scenario, and that therefore it need not be considered within this essay. Quite the contrary. It could in fact be shown to be almost the centre piece of the international concern about structural adjustment, putting back on to the agenda concerns about the provision of good quality basic education. But what is much less clear in the documentation for the World Conference is the role of training and of skills other than those connected with literacy, numeracy and basic primary education.

One of the three intermediate targets for the year 2000 which is proposed for consideration is:

> Expanded provision of training in other basic skills and of knowledge required by youth and adults, with demonstrable measures of learning achievement to be established, as appropriate, for specific learning programmes and activities.[1]

This looks like a powerful support to some notion of training entitlement. But unlike the other two targets which specify 80% coverage for all 14 year olds, and a reduction of the adult illiteracy rate by at least half, this third target area which seems to relate to training is much harder to quantify. On closer inspection of the Background Document for the World Conference, it transpires that this "third target is less specific because of the diversity and incomparability of the learning activities provided as basic education for youth and adults. No generic quantitative targets are possible for these varied activities but specific targets for the largest or most significant activities would be justified".[2]

The document then proceeds to illustrate the point by specifically drawing on the skill training arena:

> An example of such a target would be to state the proportion of participants who should complete a skill training class with the appropriate set of demonstrable abilities.[3]

However, even though there is at certain places in the documentation evidence of a concern with skills and training for young people and adults, there is certainly a danger that this will be seen as very much a third priority, to be addressed after due attention to basic primary education and illiteracy reduction.

A. Education for all, training for all, and the problem of work

Given the current interests of the four agencies sponsoring the World Conference (UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank), it should not perhaps be surprising that training concerns do not figure conspicuously in the present drafts of the conference materials. Of the four, the Bank is the only one that has been identified very closely with training, and in the recent drafts of its TVET policy paper, readers could be pardoned for thinking that the Bank was less and less interested in school-based and institution-based training and more and more concerned with training linked closely to employers or the place of work.

Not only is there not a sharply-focused target for training in the documentation, but there is very little attention to the whole work and employment environment. Again this may seem a far cry from analysing the impact of structural adjustment, but in reality the absence of an identifiable vision for training, work and employment in what looks like being one of largest single initiatives in favour of education for the rest of this century may be worth attention. It is not being suggested that international support may be suddenly withdrawn from traditional vocational training schemes as a result of the World Conference and its follow-up. Rather, it may happen if the initiative catches fire that a much greater proportion of the available international aid could go in support of basic education and to the version of skills training that seems to be dominant in the documentation.

Insofar as it is possible to detect a view of skills in the documentation at all, it seems to be one that is closer to life- skills or coping-skills rather than to job-specific skills. As to the prevocational training that is still common in many countries, it may be worth quoting a passage that raises a question mark around this traditional provision:

> Pre-employment training in specific vocational skills increasingly is recognised as insufficient for successful employment. As more and more skills are specific to a single occupation or employer, the relevance of pre-employment programmes will cease to be defined in terms of an exact fit between training and an occupation. Instead there will be more concern with assuring the future trainability of workers, or equipping them with the basic knowledge and skills that define capacity and adaptability, rather than to fulfil the requirements of narrow job description.[4]

It may well be valuable outside the framework of this essay to analyse much more precisely the drift of the argument about skills in this potentially very influential material. Provisionally, however, it rather looks as if the emphasis is upon skills in the very general sense of knowledge about health, contraception, nutrition, civic rights, and community organisation. It would almost appear as if these general orientations are seen as more relevant than prevocational programmes.

B. Alliances and partnerships in favour of education

Staying for a little longer with the notion of the World Conference as itself part of the impact of structural adjustment, we may want to note that part of the strategy for mobilising new resources for basic education is to look beyond the traditional ministry -Education- and explore the possibility of new alliances with other government departments such as Finance, Labour, and Planning.[5] This may not of course imply any change in policy towards training by the Ministry of Labour, but if the new vision did become persuasive internationally, it could for a time mean the diversion of some resources towards basic education. Unless it can be shown that the traditional clienteles of Ministries of Labour are also involved in receiving basic education.

C. Training for all as a response to structural adjustment

Thus far we have been considering the possible local effects of a new vision which is seeking to privilege basic education and literacy, and we have argued that the new vision is itself part of an international response to the perceived effects of structural adjustment. We turn now to consider the proposition that in many countries the local response to the recent crisis has been the intensification of interest in forms of vocational education and training. The rediscovery of the vocational and its rapid rise to the top of the political agenda have meant that in many different kinds of countries some form of vocationalisation is being promoted. Nor is this being targeted at the relatively small numbers of people associated with traditional vocational training centres. Rather, the aim is to provide some orientation to the vocational or the practical while the bulk of young people are still in the education system. Thus these new versions of the vocational are changing the primary school curriculum, the curriculum of the basic secondary school, and even senior secondary.

The precise rationale for the vocationalisation of the curriculum differs somewhat from country to country, but generally it is driven by a basic insight quite closely connected to the perceived impact of structural adjustment. And that is the view that the formal sector of employment cannot continue to grow at anything like a rate that could absorb young people leaving school; indeed it may actually shed labour. Consequently, the older motivation for being in school - to get a modern sector job - will increasingly need to be replaced by an alternative. In many countries, that alternative is now quite explicitly being commended as work in the informal or small enterprise economy. In a way, the logic of vocationalisation is driven both by factors external to the school as well as by education's own programmes for universalisation of access. The more successful a school system is in recruiting young people, the more obvious has it become that schooling is not for employment. It is therefore not out of the way for the very recent Education policy review commission in Uganda to address the issue of vocationalisation of education immediately after considering the strategies for democratisation and universalisation of primary education.[6]

Nor is vocationalisation a policy restricted to primary. The Commission has proposed that education at all levels should aim at equipping the persons with the knowledge and skills that are useful for productive work.[7] In this respect, Uganda is not on its own but is following a logic that has already affected the shape of several other school systems. Across Africa in particular it would be possible rather easily to replicate the following statements which are drawn from the 1989 Uganda Commission:

In particular, because of the dependence of the vast majority of the rural population on agriculture, teaching of agriculture and pre-vocational skills are both important. In all this the focus should be on providing "hands-on experience" and learning through actual practical work. The Commission therefore recommends that:

> Pre-vocational education should be offered in the upper primary grades, P.5 - P.8. It should include Agriculture, Arts and Crafts, Home Science, and other pre-vocational skills like business and technical skills.[8]

This privileging of the practical or education for capability are very much an expression of government concerns about how young people are to fend for themselves and be independent in situations where the state cannot be conceived of as the employer of last resort.

Nor are such expressions of commitment to the vocational allowed to remain just on paper. Earlier shifts, e.g. in Kenya, towards vocationalisation have certainly put a version of a more practical curriculum into place, and this has had financial implications for materials, textbooks, facilities and teacher training. It would clearly be very difficult to put a figure on the new money that has gone towards the vocationalisation, but when it involves the introduction of several new, compulsory subjects in the primary school alone, there must be significant resources going towards this emphasis both from the government and from parents.

> The picture from across the Commonwealth confirms this preoccupation within Africa, as a recent conference of Commonwealth Ministers of Education underlined:
>
> Overall, there is a general tendency throughout the Commonwealth towards school-based skills programmes which are pre-vocational. Many countries expect that teaching pre-vocational or vocational skills will somehow alleviate school leaver unemployment. Although the employment/unemployment situation was rarely spelled out in the country papers...it seems clear that this is the prime catalyst that impels governments towards education reform and vocational innovation in schools.[9]

D.The collapse in the value of a formal sector job

Among some of the more visible effects of structural adjustment policies have been the layoffs and redeployment of workers from the government and parastatal sectors of the economy. Possibly more significant and certainly more widespread has been the erosion of the view that a job with the government - especially in the lower reaches of the civil service - will provide a living wage. Though this fact has been registered, currently rather little is known about the consequences of this salary erosion, and in particular whether it has any knock-on effects upon the provision of vocational training. What is known is that large numbers of public employees, whether clerks or primary school teachers, are obliged to take on at least one more, part-time job in order to get through the month. Often this activity is in a quite different sphere of work, for example in petty trade or in services. But what is currently not known is whether this diversification of formal sector employees towards other options has any particular implications for training. What would seem probable is that the implications are more for informal training and for private, backstreet training than for the government's own training centres.

What some of these trends may mean is that the struggle to become a clerk may weaken, but it is unlikely that the few better paid positions will alter their traditional attractiveness. Schooling and, where appropriate, training are certain to continue to be influenced in a major way by the few careers for which polytechnic or university education is a necessary precondition. It is possible, however, if there develops a culture of independent and successful business, this may begin very slowly to alter some of the orientations in schools. This could even involve some young people, as in parts of Nigeria, quitting school early in order to become successful traders.

The education-for-self-employment message will become more acceptable in this situation or where public and formal sector salaries have failed to offer a living wage. Such messages have been on offer before - e.g. during Tanzania's era of education- for-self-reliance - but it is only in the very recent period that a really substantial number of governments have had to confront the inability of their small formal sectors to expand (or even to maintain their proportion of the workforce) at a time of continued population and school leaver expansion. The myth that the formal sector could become the objective for most school leavers at the end of the basic cycle has had to be abandoned, and the once rather bizarre-sounding informal sector has come to be accepted as the ordinary economy in which most young people are likely to find their livelihood.

In the new breed of primary school texts commending this new vision, it will presumably become commonplace to read advice like the following from a primary six text for business education in Kenya:

> All these activities provide opportunities in which one can engage in business in his rural home. All that one needs is to be organised either as an individual or as a group and start one's business. You do not need to stay idle in your father's home simply because you have no job in which you are paid regularly. You should actively keep yourself busy by engaging yourself in one of these activities. In other words, when you finish school, the question should not be: WHO WILL EMPLOY ME? BUT HOW I WILL EMPLOY MYSELF? in many cases you will find that self-employment is more paying than being employed by another person. There are many self- employed people in the rural areas who are very successful. We should all learn from these people.[10]

E. The informalisation of the formal sector and its impact on training

In addition to the recognition that the formal sector is in most developing countries going to be incapable even over the long term of absorbing more than a small proportion of the economically active population, this sector has also been to some extent informalised. In one way, the holding of multiple jobs by those in the formal sector has begun to alter the character of the original job. Thus as school teachers begin to make more through private tuition than through their regular job, inevitably the original teaching job changes. Similarly the number of jobs which are not permanent and pensionable and which are paid at a much lower rate is likely to rise as it becomes clear that the state cannot really afford to support larger numbers with full job benefits. For example, the very large numbers of unqualified teachers were once looked at as a temporary problem, to be solved as soon as they could be offered the appropriate training needed for upgrading. Privately, a number of ministries of education might be obliged to admit that a huge proportion of

unqualified teachers has become a necessary component of school staffing policy. There would simply not be the budget available to support them on full benefits.

This acknowledgement of the presence of the informal within the formal sector may be worth examining in more detail in other sectors than education. But here our purpose is with the impact upon training of these tendencies. It would seem possible that the incapacity of the formal sector to take on and train to a preferred level the numbers that are appropriate could well undermine traditional interests in inservice training and upgrading systems. In most countries it is far too early to see how these kinds of situations are affecting attitudes towards training. But in the most severe economic environments, it is hard to envisage strong support for inservice education and training. Where even a regular primary school teacher's salary is inadequate, it is hard to envisage a great deal of enthusiasm amongst the untrained for a long term training programme to improve their status. The scale of the problem can be grasped in Uganda, where in 1988 the proportion of untrained primary teachers was 56% and untrained secondary was 40%.

It is not known at the moment whether these kinds of trends also affect other crucial areas of the public service, such as health and agriculture, but if they do, they constitute a threat to the very essence of professionalism. If the state cannot afford to encourage the development of fully professional cadres, through incapacity to reward those who do aspire to improve their qualifications, this will strike directly at the root of professional development.

Of course not all of this can be laid at the door of structural adjustment policies. In several countries the public sector had expanded beyond its carrying capacity before the adoption of structural adjustment measures. Much larger issues are raised by this question of the size of the public sector however. In one way, the sector appears, though relatively small, to be too large to be adequately compensated. On the other hand, the development tasks that the state has promised to deliver imply much larger numbers of teachers, health workers, agricultural extension personnel etc.

But certainly of greatest concern to the training policy community must be the potential impact upon the already fragile systems of in-service education and training of recognising that they really cannot be satisfactorily encouraged to approach their natural constituencies. It is perhaps a paradox that structural adjustment has very powerfully focused the attention of external donors on the civil services of low income countries. These are now being targeted by many donors with projects to improve the civil service staff colleges and other institutions. Some of this is doubtless based on the view that there should be fewer employees but of higher quality. The corollary of this policy, however, is whether that implies rather large numbers of people of low quality, and minimum qualifications, who become essential to delivering the services but who cannot be accommodated at any higher levels of pay.

II. Structural adjustment within the training sector

Thus far we have examined the impact of structural adjustment more generally. But there is also scope for examining possible changes within the training systems themselves. The issues here do not only encompass such obvious problems as the supply of training materials in times of economic austerity, or the challenge of retaining staff in the face of the decline in the real value of salaries. There are a whole series of other dimensions which have scarcely begun to be researched but which are central to the quality of the training operation. These are changes within the internal organisation of training which may take place in countries that are under severe financial constraints. An example may clarify the kind of change worth investigation. In countries where there has been a drastic reduction in the supply of training materials, one of two things may happen: either the training becomes highly theoretical, as the opportunity to demonstrate and practise is eroded. In this respect, vocational training may be seen to parallel changes in the teaching of science where the lack of chemicals and science equipment have had a similar effect. Or, the training becomes much more practical and production-oriented, through the training instructors taking on custom jobs.

The latter effect has been very little researched, but there is scattered evidence that it is becoming widespread. Instructors with skills in carpentry or autorepair, or construction can take on contracts and fulfil them with the use of training centre machinery and trainee labour, with the client advancing money to buy the essential materials. This practice commends itself to many since it provides hands-on experience to the trainees, additional income to the instructors, and links the training centre more into the community. The training centre can also compete very readily with local contractors since its labour costs are very low. This approach has become so popular in one national training centre in Africa that the director was obliged to admit that few instructors wished to teach in the theory classes, since there was little opportunity to supplement salaries there.

There should not perhaps be any surprise at this growth in custom jobs by government training centres. It is a direct parallel to the private tuition classes that so many public school teachers now run, for similar reasons. But we should note that in the process what is happening is that the formerly modern sector training is coming closer to training modes long popular in the informal and backstreet sectors. The less formal the training centre the more likely is it that training will be inseparable from production. In fact these latest developments which have made training more production-oriented are not entirely a bad thing. Previously, it was common to hear graduates of vocational training centres criticised by industry for being strong on theory but unable to diagnose the fault in a car. In the new training economy, the criticism is likely to be the opposite - that the trainees don't sufficiently understand what they are doing.

This process of informalisation of formal sector training has been too little researched to allow of any generalisation, but several things may be worth noting if this does prove

to be a pattern that is becoming more widespread. First, a number of the enterprises - including multinational - whose support of the vocational training system has been more for the trade theory than for the practice (which they provide anyway on their own premises) may fall away. Second, and more complex, the change from fully-financed government training to a situation where first the client and then perhaps the trainee pay towards elements of the course may alter the whole conceptualisation of a government training centre. Once the government centre ceases to be distinguished in some of its methods of work from other lower cost training centres, questions could be raised about the necessity of government continuing to furnish the plant and provide instructors. It might well lead to the notion of privatisation or self-financing. Currently, it is too early to know in what direction some of these tendencies will lead, but it might suggest the value of some careful case study work on changing patterns of provision.

One problem may be anticipated in any attempt to capitalise upon these elements of self-financing, and that is that they are happening principally to provide a second source of income to instructors. If the moneys were ploughed back into the training centre it might prove difficult to retain the instructors.

A. Tensions between the realities of training centre organisation and the politics of democratisation

We have talked already about one form of democratisation which is sweeping through school systems - the vocationalisation of certain aspects of the curriculum for all children. But there is evidence of a second wave of democratisation which is being aimed at the post-school training system. It is being recognised, in the midst of an acute financial crisis, that the various elements that make up the national vocational training system are very small. Many of the institutions that comprise the national vocational training system were created shortly after independence and their numbers have remained very small. Thus national youth services may only have a few hundred participants, and national apprenticeship schemes a similar number. Even though the numbers of such institutions are small, several are facing problems of financing of the kind we have just discussed. And yet, it is this training sector that is now being targeted for dramatic expansion.

The reasons for the renewed government interest in the democratisation of training are not very different from those that have driven the massive expansion of the basic, and now the secondary cycle of education. Training is increasingly being regarded as a right to which many more young school leavers should have access. At the moment there are often only a handful of public vocational training centres, and they have often continued to have a manpower orientation to the modern sector of the economy long after that view was abandoned for the general secondary school population. Accordingly, what we are seeing now is a rethinking of the orientation and the distribution of training institutions. Even in a country like Uganda where there are very severe resource constraints, it is being proposed in the new Commission report that eventually there will be new technical institutes in every district. The emphasis now is on institutes that are part of the local community provision, and not just available in a few of the largest towns:

> In due course, there should be one Technical Institute in each district.
>
> The Commission takes it for granted that since intermediate technology education is community-oriented, Technical Institutes will have to serve as multi-functional centres for

> teachers, tractor-hire services and pilot schemes.[11]

Very similar developments have already been discussed in neighbouring Kenya, where it is felt that there should be an expansion of both the youth polytechnics and the technical training institutes. But what these developments imply appears often contradictory at a time of unparalleled financial stringency. The new institutions have to operate in a very different milieu than the smaller number of technical institutes that preceded them. The latter still had quite close links to the modern sector of the economy, a link protected by the small number of these institutions. The newer vision is of institutes serving the needs of their communities at the district level, but no longer having the special relationship with the modern sector of the economy. That is to say that they must develop for themselves a new raison d'etre, and carry communities with them, even to the extent of encouraging a degree of community financing. This is a tall order, but it does nevertheless seem to be one area (apart from higher education) where governments are determined to innovate and expand, even in the midst of economic crisis.

B. The new vocationalism in a context of enterprise development

We have indicated at various stages in this essay that one of the new rationales for vocationalisation is self-employment. Again, there is clearly a difference between policies that merely encourage this through the curriculum orientation of schools and institutes, and those that seek to provide some support to the culture of enterprise within the wider economy. This latter is something that has also begun to happen even in critical economic conditions. A number of countries have begun to take seriously the implications of their analysis about the absence of formal sector jobs. It is no longer enough to promote self-employment as merely staying in the rural areas, practising subsistence agriculture. The new self-employment promotion appears to imply a much greater readiness by government to intervene to encourage a supportive environment for enterprise. The new strategies are therefore both school-based and economy-based, targeting both the attitudes of the young people and also seeking to alter the economic environment in which new skills may be practised. The Kenya education reform underlines this two-pronged attack:

> The 8-4-4 system of education provides for vocationalisation of education to enhance the development of vocational skills and impart attitudes for self reliance and national development. However, the Working Party considers that in order to utilise these skills properly and enhance self-reliance, it is necessary for the country to develop indigenous technology and small scale industries, train people in entrepreneurship skills, to expand post-school training and support activities in the informal sector of the economy to promote self-employment.[12]

In other words, self-employment initiatives need to be part of a coherent small enterprise development strategy. This too appears to be an area where governments are actually ready to spend more money even in currently straitened circumstances. There is however a powerful logic in so doing. In a way, those governments that are seeking to alter in a positive way the larger environment and the incentive systems are, albeit unconsciously, confronting the long-standing power of the argument about the vocational school fallacy, put forward so effectively by Philip Foster more than 25 years ago:

Once these kinds of changes are underway, it then makes it much easier to intervene directly in the education and training system, in order to encourage a much greater degree of training linked to an enterprise orientation. The emphasis is therefore not specifically on more technical and vocational education and training. Rather it is on the need for an enterprise curriculum to be attached centrally to the delivery of regular education and training:

> Students at all education/training levels in Kenya should receive instruction in content relating to self-employment and entrepreneurship. These subjects are important to the long-term development of an "enterprise culture" in Kenya and the emergence of latent entrepreneurial talent....Direct instruction for becoming self-employed should be integrated with the formal education system.[15]

But it would seem to be particularly in respect of training institutions that the Kenya initiative sees enterprise education being critical. It recommends that a self-employment and entrepreneurship curriculum should be included at all training levels and training institutions. Logically, it sees it as necessary to target such a curriculum at the colleges where technical and vocational teachers are taught, thus increasing the likelihood that they will teach it as something connected to the vocational content.

This is the essence of the new direction in technical and vocational training institutions under conditions of national economic severity: not that they should be cut back and adjust their student numbers to the possibly smaller requirements of modern sector industries, but that they should go through a restructuring or an adjustment themselves to allow them to aim at a new constituency and clientele. The implications presumably for their curriculum are not simply that they add on to an otherwise unchanged technical and vocational curriculum some new material on enterprise, but rather that the vocational content itself would need to be rethought if the enterprise message is to make sense. Clearly, this cannot be thought of as 'business as usual' for the vocational training institutions.[16]

In Nigeria, the multiple activities of the National Directorate of Employment have also sought to put enterprise on the agenda,- not only of the schools and universities - but also through introducing many new schemes that encourage the development of enterprise in the wider economy.[17]

C. Convergence and divergence in the internal and external manpower agendas

In examining Kenya's national agenda for privileging small enterprise development we noted a readiness to espouse certain macro-economic measures that are associated with structural adjustment policies. As mentioned earlier there appeared to be a convergence between the World Bank and a number of the most recent national commissions on education and training about the measures to be taken, and especially in the area of financing and cost-recovery. Policies that were identified with particular thinking in the Bank a few years ago now seem to have become common currency. This somewhat complicates the task of sorting out the impact of structural adjustment on technical and vocational education and training. In a number of national reports in recent years, it no longer seems as if measures aimed to reduce the public subsidy to education and training are part of a set of conditions imposed by the Bank. They seem rather to be policies which

national working parties have realised are necessary on their own account.

The origin of the policies does not affect their impact, but this localisation of elements in the structural adjustment agenda is worth noting. There is a difference between examining structural adjustment and its effects as part of a package of measures that a country has felt obliged to agree to with an external body on the one hand, and seeing adjustment as a series of national policies, legitimated by national commissions of inquiry. It is perhaps to be expected that the macro-economic policies are more directly identified with the Bank and IMF, while with some of the sector-specific actions it is no longer clear whether they flow from the larger external policies or are the results of local thinking about the financing of education and training.

Be that as it may, some of the commonest policies now being adopted at different levels of the education and training systems are cost-sharing, reduction of boarding and feeding allowances, and levying of higher fees. Countries that have had a major tradition of educational self-reliance involving community financing probably find the extension of such traditions to other levels of education relatively easy to argue. By contrast, countries which have had a much higher dependence on the state provision of education have a more difficult message to purvey.

Given what has been said earlier about the common national policy of desiring to expand vocational education and training, it should not be surprising that the new financing mechanisms are increasingly being attached to TVET. We have argued that the expansion of TVET can be seen as a response to the problems of adjustment, and that the financing mechanisms are similarly related. Doubtless there are countries in Africa and elsewhere where TVET is contracting under pressures of adjustment (and austerity) and where parents are still being asked to finance in part this dwindling resource. In principle, it would seem politically more acceptable to encourage community financing of an expanding resource than one that is contracting.

This is certainly the case with Kenya where the bold programme of vocationalisation at different levels has meant new demands on the old tradition of harambee [self-reliance] by parents and community:

> The vocationalisation of education under the 8-4-4 system of education has created a great demand for the supply of educational facilities and equipment and hence increasing expenditure on facilities and equipment. In the light of Government financial constraints, it is the view of the Working Party that the cost-sharing strategy applicable to the provision of physical facilities and some equipment by communities and parents in primary schools should be extended and applied to secondary schools. The Government should, however, continue to provide specialised equipment in order to maintain quality and relevance of teaching subjects such as the sciences and vocational education [18]

It is worth noting these examples of educational expansion with the use of community financing as the mechanism for spreading the financial burden. How widely this is repeated in other countries is unknown, but it may be worth pursuing the question of how far education and training continue to expand under different kinds of financing arrangements. In Kenya, it is clear that the financial crisis is being used as the occasion to publicly declare the importance of completely private provision: the Government encourages the development of private educational and training institutions at all levels.[19]

III. Concluding comments on the state of TVET in situations of adjustment

We have probably said enough in this essay to conclude that there is no simple picture to be drawn of the impact of structural adjustment on TVET. Initially, it had been assumed that this would likely involve an examination of how public funds were being progressively reduced in this sector, and that only countries operating a levy-grant system would have some sort of protection against the erosion of funding for TVET. Such levy- grant based TVET systems have been looked at exhaustively elsewhere.[20] But for other situations, this original assumption about a dwindling resource poorly financed did not appear to be supported by the evidence. In many countries -perhaps especially in the Commonwealth - it seemed as if the TVET sector was intimately connected with adjustment, but was actually expanding or being planned to expand as a result of that perceived connection.

While the international literature may be replete with references to TVET institutions being two or three times more costly than general education or training facilities at the same level, again the local picture is not of shutdowns but quite the opposite. There would appear to have been developed national policies which aim to ensure vocationalisation across entire school populations. And even when it comes to post-school training institutions, the pattern is again an insistence that these institutes spread out nationally to become a common feature at the district or small town level.

This apparent paradox of major expansion in the midst of a financial crisis we have explained in terms of TVET being seen as part of the solution rather than as part of the problem. Whether this is a correct perception is open to debate, but there is no doubting the frequency with which it is seen to be so. However, it must be stressed that the TVET expansion plans are not based on an expansion of old-style TVET, with its small number of donor-aided institutions, closely linked to the small modern sector of the economy. New-style TVET is predicated upon a different logic, and upon the public acknowledgement of the potential of the informal and small enterprise economy. The restructuring of TVET towards this new constituency is just underway, and in many countries there is more on paper than on the ground. The new vision of TVET linked to a coherent small enterprise development policy is very powerful, and it is clearly one response to the economic and employment crisis that so many countries were facing.

It is still very much an open question what support this local strategy of basic vocationalisation for all will receive, both within the countries concerned and outside. We have in this connection identified the current mobilisation towards Education for All as one of the most obvious international responses to the concerns about the impact of structural adjustment on education and training. But thus far in the conceptualisation of this external new vision we do not yet see a coherent grasp of what basic skills or training for all might mean.

What this essay has sought to identify is the emergence of a local vision of training for all which is still somewhat inchoate and not widely tried out. It is a very different version of TVET than the World Bank has examined and found wanting. And it badly needs to be judged by what it aims to be and not by the standards appropriate to specialised vocational training institutions.

The big question is likely to be how successfully countries can manage the transition from the older concepts of TVET (elements of which need to be retained) to the newer concepts which are very much born out of the crisis, and whose implementation nationwide are certain to be affected by the continuation of economic austerity.

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